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224 held that the night would tell the sheep, the two being cousins (ĕstcuma'vâ, mother's sister's child). The hunters must be continent before they set off. The reason for all this is anything but clear, for so far as I could discover the beliefs were not integrated with the body of religious attitudes and practices. The connec-
[821] tion of night with the sheep may rest on the fact that Orion's Belt was, as usual in this area, called "mountain sheep."

The best time to go for the sheep was when the palo verde was in bloom, that is, in the spring. They were hunted in the Gila Bend Mountains (and northwestward?) where they were by no means plentiful. Before they set out, the hunters prayed. (The special prayer was unknown to my informant, Kutox.) They had to be very quiet, speaking softly, and they would not tell even their own families they were going. On the way to the mountains they rested at night if necessary in order to arrive there at midday. There they were very quiet, never laughing. They would sit up all night, smoking, and talking of very fat animals (other animals). If a deer was being described, they would say they wished for a deer when the leaves turned yellow (i.e., when deer were fattest). If they spoke of a horse, they would wish they had the fattest horse; or if a rabbit, the hunter described how he had killed a fat one. They began hunting before dawn and continued only until noon. They were thought always to be successful in killing at least one sheep. Five or six men always went together, and even a single sheep would be sufficient for all of them. When the sheep was killed, the hunter must not describe any part of it as he approached. If he should say what an ugly thing it was,
[82] rain would pour down. If they failed to kill one the first day, they returned home, because they believed some one of their number had made some sort of disturbance to scare the sheep.

224 When a mountain sheep was killed, a long time was required
276 to skin it because only one man worked at it and that leisurely. He took four puffs of smoke before commencing. He would cut down the breast, but only a little way, and then stop to smoke with the others sitting around him. This was repeated so that by the fourth smoke he had completed the skinning operation. The carcass would be left lying on the hide while they went to one

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side to talk of happy things. When they had finished smoking four cigarettes, the same man would butcher and divide it among those present. They were careful to lift the flesh slowly from the ground. If it were jerked up, rain would pour down and it would thunder hard. Even when carrying it home, they would walk their horses slowly all the way. When they neared home, those on horses dismounted slowly and carefully lifted off the meat. These men would divide the meat among their friends and relatives, or after it was cooked invite them to eat. Those to whom it was given must thank the giver, else in winter it would rain hard or be very cold, or if summer, become so hot as to scorch the plants and sand storms blow. Similarly if one should beat or shake the mountain sheep skin or horns, the weather would be frightful. (The horns were not carried home.)[15] They had to be careful at all points in handling the sheep. Women cooked its flesh. It was not thrown into the pot, but put in slowly. Sticks had to be thrust into the fire slowly, too. Even when eating it, they chewed slowly, for fear of choking.

Peccaries were sometimes seen in the desert east of Sacaton; they were hardly ever found in Maricopa territory. Hence while the Pima hunted them, the Maricopa killed them only when passing eastward, as on a war party. The meat was divided, roasted and eaten on the spot. The tusks were not used. While the peccary is now known as k,ω'chĭlyuvacàðŏ'm, "wild pig," and the domestic pig as k,ω'c, obviously the latter was the original name for the peccary.

Beavers (pĕm) were eaten, especially the fat tail. There were a great many beaver in the neighborhood. The entrances of the beaver house were stopped up, while they dug through its top, using their digging sticks to kill the inmates.

No one would eat ground squirrels (aði'c) for fear of deafness.

Birds were not important in the diet and their eggs were never eaten. Quail, mourning doves, and whitewing doves could be

[15] Pima hunters also never brought home the horns. "Each man had a place set apart where he deposited them in order that they might exert no evil influence upon the winds or rains." The Papago deposited mountain sheep tails with feathers at springs during rain ceremonies (Russell, *Pima Indians*, p. 82).

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bris thrown inside by children, for they were not forbidden to play there. The fire was kept blazing during the meeting with the door closed, so that they would sweat. A pile of wood was stacked within the doorway on the south side for the convenience of the fire tender (autura'k), an old man who alone had the duty of feeding the fire.

As evening came on, the chief would stand in the open to call the men to the meeting: "they might have something to discuss." He advised them to bring enough tobacco, so that the unprovided would not lack it. Meetings always began by smoking privately, not passing their lighted cigarettes around. Two or three were selected to do all the talking (whether orators who had dreamed or others is not clear). In the early evening they discussed "things like crops." Toward the middle of the night arrangements would be made for hunting. Warfare was discussed. (Young men were not supposed to go off on unauthorized raids, but if they did, they were nevertheless praised.) Talking would continue until the appearance of the morning star, which was taken as the signal to break up. They did not think it proper to leave early in the night: if topics were exhausted they sang until this star rose. No one was allowed to sleep, because the older men were delivering admonitions and advice to their juniors; telling them not to gamble, to treat their wives well, not to beg even though starving, not to be lazy, and the like. Anyone who slept was sent out. There were no guards at the door.

Such formal division of the night was a characteristic Maricopa pattern. Not only did it appear in the framework of dreamed experiences with spirits, but their actual sleeping habits were made to conform. Children were kept awake during the first part of the night and roused early before dawn to avoid dreaming during these ill-starred quarters of the night. Shamans, at least when working over a dying patient, abruptly changed their songs with the passage of the night's divisions. The night was supposed to be divided into quarters, but none of the experiences and practices cited to me conformed literally to this fourfold pattern. Here the meeting is described as of three parts: indifferent evening, deep night with its more serious problems, and

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175 Bartlett saw a party set out against the enemy north of the Salt River in July
726 1852. "Their arms were solely the bow and arrow: most of them had a skin quiv-
er hung across their backs; though a few carried their arrows in their girdles."
[411] And in speaking of Pima-Maricopa armament in general, he wrote, "The only weapon used by these tribes is the bow and arrow. The short club of the Yumas and the long lance of the Apaches I never saw among them. The constant use of this weapon has rendered them excellent marksmen. Even the boys are very expert in the use of it."[25]

726 Moving northward toward the mountains, they would start out slowly and camp hidden in the thickets of the Salt River bottom. During the night the journey was resumed, bringing them near the enemy toward dawn. There they would rest all day. Late in the afternoon they moved to the actual attack. Only a
[262] little ground parched wheat was carried for provisions. Rabbits might be killed on the way; these were roasted if it was safe.

726 A clairvoyant was always included in the party; one who had
787 dreamed of Buzzard or Coyote. While they were resting in the mountains, an older man would ask him to locate the enemy. Everyone must be quiet: the horsemen would lead their horses aside. The clairvoyant, standing beside a fire in the center of the
[276] circle of seated men, proceeded to smoke four cigarettes. By the time he had finished smoking the first, he thought he was lifted off the ground a little. With the second and third, he was still higher, and when the fourth was finished, he dropped as though dead. After a few minutes he sat up. The man who had requested his aid now lit a cigarette to give him. The clairvoyant would then tell how Buzzard had taken him to the highest mountain to reveal the location and numbers of the enemy; had told him from which direction to approach, how easily he would find and kill them. The warriors then set off, led by this man.

726 When they reached the enemy, all rushed forward to see who would kill the first enemy. If the enemy were surprised asleep, everyone in the camp was killed, three or four families. They did not look on a slain enemy's face any more than was necessary.
727 As soon as they knew he was dead, they faced toward home, with their backs turned to the corpse and to the mountains, which were also conceived as enemies.[26] Apparently they were quite

[25] *Personal Narrative*, II, 217, 237.

[26] See p. 253.

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no children of their own. Men approved, "treated them like girls," but the women were uneasy of them. Women who passed for men (kwiʌaʌamĕ', which cannot be etymologized) dressed like men and married women. There was no ceremony at the transformation as among the Mohave.

Since all success depended on dreaming, it must have been frequent in adult life. In fact, the evidence is that the interpretation of dreams was a relatively common topic for discussion among friends. For instance, a significant dream came to a man or woman before they had intercourse; by it they knew whether they would have children. A man might dream that he was gathering little birds or puppies, dream that he was fond of them; that was a sign that he would have children. A woman might equally have such a dream. The dream did not give power to conceive: it was merely a forecast. Only in this sense, said informants, could it be said that a man knew the woman would conceive before she did.[3] Or on telling a dream, someone would interpret it: "That is a sign that you are not going to have a child." This type of dreaming had no special designation.

Similarly a man who had dreamed of marching up to fierce animals, who suddenly became quiet, could in the same manner march up to and kill a foeman.

Beside spontaneous dreaming, there was the possibility of inducing dreams which would yield occult power by taking jimsonweed. While under its influence, a man dreamed that the birds sang to him and told what he should do. Some days later he began to sing, having gotten power to cure. Such a person would not live long, they believed. For other persons the reactions to the narcotic were interpreted differently: their actions while under its influence foretold their future. If a man "was interested in fishing," he might jump into the river fully-clad,

[3] Of the Yuma, Forde writes: "Actual conception is known to the man before it is to the woman. . . . . To him, it is believed, comes the power to create the child. Conception can only occur when the man has received this power of which he should normally dream beforehand. Without this sense of spiritual exaltation intercourse cannot be fruitful, and he is immediately aware if he has achieved impregnation. The woman, for her part, can also resist conception by merely refusing to desire a child" (*Yuma Ethnography*, p. 158; cf. p. 159). Perhaps; but I suggest that his informant meant no more than the Maricopa forecast.

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276 787 828 and snatch up bits of wood and stones under the impression they were fish. If he was to be a great warrior, he seized a stick and brandished it, whacking away on a stump. It is not wholly clear that this typifying activity was thought different in nature from the induced dream. A statement suggests otherwise: "they dream how to become good hunters of a particular animal, as jackrabbits, cottontails, deer, or mountain sheep."

276 Jimsonweed (*Datura*, cmalgapi't, "deaf ear") was used by any man; usually younger men and boys. The inner portion of the root was chewed and swallowed, a decoction of the mashed leaves was drunk, or the latter rubbed on the body. The part of the plant from which the roots or leaves were taken was not prescribed. "They do not eat much: too much will kill them. It makes them crazy: they will not come close to a person, but sneak away." Beyond the fact that young people took the drug, inquiry failed to reveal any specific parallels to the toloache rite of southern California. Nor were thieves detected under its influence as at Zuñi.

778 787 A deliberate quest for dreams, like the vision-quest of northern and eastern Indians, was rare. My informant knew of only two places, two caves, to which one went to get in touch with the spirits. The first cave, on the western (?) side of the Painted Rock Mountains, was the home of a spirit named kukupu'ʀâ (hence the mountains were called his house, kukupu'ʀniva). The nature of this spirit was unknown. One can barely creep through the entrance to this cave; far inside is a large room, and the cave extends indefinitely beyond. "Whenever a man wished to be rich or to become a shaman, or have crops prosper, be a good runner, or have many girls about him," he sat in this room facing the opening and holding his right hand out. He prayed for [782] what he desired. Then he heard something coming from the rear of the cave: there was a great draught and the sound of a whirlwind. The spirit put something very cold in the man's hand. He clenched his fist tight and crept out. When he reached home, [785] he avoided fats and salt, "fasting" for four days, and bathing each morning. "Then his wish came true." If the seeker fled [753] from the cave in fear, he would become blind and perhaps insane.

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cure" was translated by my interpreter into Maricopa as axna'l-mĭtce"vĭk, "gourd [rattle] singing."[30] This may be because they now call in Pima shamans.

Usually at a cure several old men sat beside the shaman to lend him their strength, but they did not sing.

Before the shaman began, he smoked two or three cigarettes or even four if the patient was very sick. He also stopped from time to time to smoke. "The shaman felt weak without his tobacco, like a man without food and water. He smoked to make himself feel strong." It is not clear that the shaman blew smoke over the sick man. Last Star did not mention it as part of the procedure and his statement that the shaman stopped to smoke implies otherwise. Kutox, on the other hand, said that he blew smoke over the patient's body, but did not describe it in his own cure, cited below. The tobacco used by shamans did not differ from that of the layman.

The shaman sang two songs or four over the patient when he knew he would recover. Only if the patient was seriously ill did the shaman begin singing from the first. "His songs were like prayers." He sang them to gain strength. These were songs he had learned in dreams and which he used only when curing; otherwise he kept them secret. The songs told how the spirit had taken him to the mountain tops to reveal the cures, but they did not describe this explicitly. In the course of his songs he named the disease and told the patient that "when he heard these songs he might get well."[31]

If, while singing, the shaman mentioned only things that were white (birds or whatever) and called the patient's breath white, the auditors were sure he would get well. But if he changed these references to black, the patient was doomed. On the fourth night (theoretically a shaman was given four nights to effect a cure), if

[30] Forde's Yuma informant, ascribing the use of a rattle to the Maricopa, was presumably mistaken (*Yuma Ethnography*, p. 198).

[31] Informants had never heard of curing by the songs of animals diagnosed as causing the disease, as did the Pima; such causes being foreign to their belief. Possible exceptions were the singing of Blackbird song for sickness "caused by the deer" and the belief that rabbits caused illness and supplied its cure.

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538 rock! Throw your old mano (hand grinding stone) away and get a new one," and then snap it out. The children were told that if they threw it away without saying anything, none would grow in its place.

Tongue-twisters and proverbs were unknown to the informants.

828 A brief discussion was held with Last Star on the subject of thinking. The Maricopa believed that one thinks with his heart. If they went on a visit, they said, "My heart began thinking of you, so I started off to see you." Last Star believes that he thinks with his heart, because "if a man is sick, his heart beats fast; if it stops, his arteries will not work. Some people now say that one thinks with his head, but my head feels to my hand only like a hard stone. It does not keep working; my heart does. The way my heart beats hard, it must be responsible." It would seem that he was identifying thought with the whole of his bodily states, physiological and emotional, and, I gathered from other observations, dreaming was considered part of this whole, that is, just one aspect which bodily states might take. "Thinking" was al,i'm, kĭln,iʊu'ck, or iwa'kĭln,iʊu'ck, "heart thinking."

DIVERSIONS

SMOKING

276 517 Smoking was an indulgence; its use but moderate. There was in addition considerable ceremonial usage, particularly on the part of shamans. With regard to everyday use, "they did not smoke all the time, but a little when at work, and when they gathered in the evening to converse." Tobacco was carried to the evening gatherings in the meeting house, where each man smoked privately. The chief, when calling them to the meeting, shouted out a warning to bring a sufficient supply for those who might come unprovided. Women hardly ever smoked.

276 782 Smoking was also in the nature of a prayer. "When I puff it out, I think of someone I want helped, and I pray that I may linger for some years more." When old Kutox did this, he said, he did not address any particular spirit, but was speaking to his "relatives." (The implication is obscure.)

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Maricopa
Yuma
Halchidhoma

Cigarettes were the old form in which tobacco was smoked. 276
They were rolled in dried cornhusks (hence called haml'nk, "to roll up"), or less commonly, stuffed in sections of a reed (axta'-kasa'c, "soft reed") softer than common arrowreed (axta'). Both varieties grow near Maricopa Wells. These were never passed from one to another. Kutox had never heard of the use of pipes in ancient days: clay pipes came into use only after his [177]
birth in 1847–48. These had turned-up bowls and wooden stems made from a hollow stalk. The straight tubular pipe was unknown. Old men made such pipes (mukwi'n$_y$^{4}), baking them like [323]
pottery. [387]

No tobacco (u'u'v^{4}c) was cultivated by the Maricopa, in [249]
which they were one with the lower Colorado Yumans and differed from the Pima. Instead they commonly used a wild tobacco, uvâana'l$_y$^{4}, "mesquite tobacco," so called because it grows on 222
sandy hills in the desert beneath the mesquite trees. It is available in the early spring. When the plants were a foot tall, the 276
leaves were plucked and dried in the shade. When they were double that height, they were no longer considered usable, and called in derision xataluwe'n$_y$icĭu'v^4, "Coyote's tobacco." An- 276
other tobacco was gotten from the Akwa'ala (akwa'l) by trade 439
through the Cocopa, not from the Cahuilla (xakwi'tc), as noted below. This was called uvâsa'kc, "rotted tobacco." They were also glad to get tobacco from the Pima, who cultivated uvâxa'n, "real tobacco."[19]

According to Kutox, however, the Maricopa cultivated one variety of tobacco 249
(uv^4); the Halchidhoma raised uvâxa'n, "real tobacco," while still on the Colo- 439
rado. Apparently the Maricopa did not raise the plant from their own seeds, for "it was said that they always got the seeds from the Mission [Cahuilla] Indians"; and again that they got them from the Halchidhoma on visits to the Colorado. The latter is much more probable since the Maricopa probably had no direct contact with the Cahuilla. The reason for the association with this tribe is probably implied in the statement that "at the time of the creation, there was one tobacco [773]
plant standing there, ever growing. The people around took that. This is where the seed [all seed] comes from." The Cahuilla were named as the first tribe created at that time. It may well be that the Halchidhoma were merely intermediaries, for most of, if not all, the lower Colorado tribes did not cultivate tobacco.
The informant had heard of another variety, growing wild, "Coyote's tobac- 222

[19] The first and third are said to have yellow blossoms; specimens were unavailable.

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222 co" (hatâluwĕ'nĭtcâu'v), which was gathered when there was no more of the cultivated plant available.

249 Very little tobacco was grown; "in little patches," "a few plants." It was planted in the spring after the rains; digging little holes, hoeing and weeding by hand. The informant had never heard of planting the seeds in ashes. As the leaves ripened, were large enough, they were plucked; other leaves matured, until the plant shriveled in the summer heat. Leaves were used, rarely the stems.

276 They were dried, broken up, and stored in little pots, covered with a sherd that just fitted. Tobacco was usually carried about in a little deerskin sack or, since [237] cattle were introduced, in a cow horn. (Mountain sheep horns were not used prior to this.)

Kutox may have been referring to Pima cultivation or to some slight imitation by the Maricopa.

GAMES AND SPORTS

526 Like the Pueblos, kicking races and gambling games were con- [171] sidered the most important contests and were bet on heavily. Kicking races at least figured intertribally. There was the usual unequal division of games and sports between the sexes, with the preponderance in favor of men. While this was perhaps predictable in the matter of sports, it was certainly arbitrary that men had more games. They played at hoop and pole, at ball, and [524] raced, and for sedentary games had dice, cañute, and the hand game. Only double-ball shinny and their own form of the dice [562] game were peculiar to women. The same disparity appears in boys' sports *versus* girls', but here there is every reason to think that children's sports are badly represented in what follows, although I made specific inquiries for them. The hidden ball game, ring and pin, and string figures were pastimes for everyone. All [525] other adult games were inseparable from betting, with the possible exception of the ball game, i.e., the men's form of shinny, which, as a matter of fact, was a lackadaisical, unorganized affair. Basket dice, which might have been expected among the Maricopa, was missing.

The pattern of a race, as elsewhere in the Southwest, was to a given point and return. This appeared, for instance, in kicking races and relays.

In the kicking race (huĭnya'vâ) they made use of a ball, not a stick. This, called sâ'a'n, was manufactured by dipping a stone, an inch and a half in diameter, repeatedly into melted gum until it grew to the size of our baseballs. For this purpose they used